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MACEDONIA'S STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON, BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE, RETIRED.

THE pen of a Shakespeare could hardly do justice to the tremendous dramatic contrasts of the last six months in Macedonia. On the one hand, a splendid pageantry of mimic warfare, the great Balkan campaign of five-and-twenty years ago fought over again in the presence of many of the men who wrote that page of red world-history with their swords; the swift dash for the Shipka Pass, the beleaguering of Plevna, the final surging of the Russian armies over the Balkans, and the last wild stand of the Turks at Sheinovo, with the snow-covered mountains as background, and in front the Vale of Roses. On the other hand, the wild misery of Turkish misrule through the three Macedonian provinces; the man-hunts among the mountains, Turks and Bulgarians dogging each other like wild beasts; the burning of Christian villages; the insults to women; the sufferings of the helpless children and the aged; starving bands of fugitives crossing the northern frontier, while battalions of Turkish troops from the Asiatic provinces of the Sultan were being hurried into the southern villages. Here is such a mingling of splendor and misery, of pageantry and passion, of piteousness and hate, in a setting of such wonderful stateliness and color, that only a master of masters could fitly portray it.

We can gain some understanding of this new page of world-history by separating the elements, with their intricate entanglements of contending races and policies, their jarring discords of rival religions, their profound obscurities and contradictions, which have made the Eastern Question almost impossible of solution. We shall begin with the conditions of anarchic misery which have existed so long in Macedonia. For years back, every spring has seen fighting among the Macedonian mountains;

with the disappearance of the snows, there comes an opportunity to the Bulgarian mountaineers and peasants, who form the bulk of the population, to take vengeance on their oppressors, the Turkish soldiery and police. Ambushes are set for the patrols, or for small bands of soldiers; men disappear among the caves and forests in the hills; villages are attacked and burned; murders are common everywhere throughout the three provinces. Then come the extreme heats of summer, when the contest slackens, and dies away, to be revived in the coming spring. By that time, there are new outrages to avenge, new injustices and insults to be paid for; the insolence of office, and the law's delays, bribery, corruption, violence, have opened new scores, and added to old reckonings. Above all, and as the cause of all, stands the Turk's administrative impotence, the powerlessness of a dying race to conceive and carry out sound schemes of organization and order founded on large ideas and broad imaginative grasp; a lack of that collective insight and will which is the foundation stone of settled government. With this power lacking, good or bad intentions, humane or savage impulses, alike lead to anarchy; and throughout Macedonia anarchy has reigned for generations.

But this wild misery and cruelty alone would never have brought the Macedonian question into world politics. For this were necessary the binding forces of thought and will that make aggregations of power; and these forces were found in the rising aspirations and growing national consciousness of the Balkan Slavs, and in the sympathies and antipathies thereby aroused beyond their northern frontiers. Of the three million inhabitants of Macedonia, five-sixths are of Bulgarian race and speech, the minority being Turkish soldiers and officials, Greek merchants, priests and settlers along the *Ægean*, and a district of Vlacks among the Pindus mountains. To this we must add the Old Servian region in the northwest, very important, as representing the arena of two contesting nationalities. But setting aside these scattered fragments, Macedonia is a land of Bulgarian Slavs, Christians of the Oriental rite, under Mussulman rulers, largely of Turkish race. The inevitable resultant anarchy, which has its cause not so much in the malevolence of the Turk as in his administrative impotence, has long attracted the hearty sympathy of the four million Bulgarian subjects of Prince Ferdinand.

It is to aid their three million brothers in Macedonia, that the Bulgarians of the Principality form the Macedonian Committees we have heard so much of; and the aims and ideals of these Committees have the sympathy of all Bulgarians, including the governing powers, though the means they employ may be repudiated, as is inevitable so long as Bulgaria remains, even nominally, a vassal state of the Sultan.

The presiding genius of the Macedonian Committees of Bulgaria is Colonel Zontcheff, a former officer and an enthusiast, touched with that zealous readiness for martyrdom, that fiery exaltation of will which is so characteristic of the Slavonic genius. Colonel Zontcheff and his Committee have a loose organization spreading through the three Macedonian provinces, and having branches in nearly every village inhabited by Bulgarians. These branches are centres of revolutionary propaganda, and there can hardly be a doubt that they have a strong rallying centre in the monastic communities of the Hagion Oros, or Mount Athos. For the work of the Macedonian Committee is as much religious as political, and it is the bond of common religion and worship which so strongly attracts the sympathies of the Russian nation to the Bulgarian struggle for freedom. After months of organization, the friends and emissaries of Colonel Zontcheff found themselves ready to act at the beginning of September. On the first of the month, an armed band of the Macedonian Committee attempted to cross the frontier from Bulgaria into Macedonia, but was prevented by the Government, which, as a nominal vassal of Turkey, could not openly connive at an insurrection against Turkish misrule. On the day following, the papers of the Macedonian Committee were seized; Colonel Zontcheff was arrested at Dubnitza, and there was a momentary lull in the work of preparation.

During the week of quiescence, certain remarkable events took place at Agram in Croatia, a province under the direct rule of Hungary—events not connected with the Macedonian question, but valuable as shedding light on the complex problems of race and faith in the Balkans. A Servian paper published at the capital, Belgrade, had foreshadowed the formation of a Greater Servia, to include Croatia and Slavonia, and part of northern Macedonia. This was reprinted in Agram, where the majority of the Slavs are Catholics, who look for the formation of a

Greater Croatia under the crown of the Dual Monarchy. The claim of Orthodox Serbia to dominate Catholic Croatia, though both are Slav, caused a fury of excitement in Agram, several days rioting being only ended by the exodus of nearly the whole Servian population. Threats of retaliation on the Catholics were made at Belgrade, but fortunately were not carried out. This outburst of religious passion throws a flood of light on the lasting antagonism between Austrian and Russian policy in the Balkan peninsula.

Another incident of three or four days later sheds further light on this tangled race-problem. Outside of Constantinople, the real Osmanli Turks are a mere handful in European Turkey. Their ranks are strengthened by many Mussulmans of Slav blood, so that it is said of the Balkans: "Scratch the Turk, and you will find the Slav." But a far more formidable buttress of the Turkish power is found in Albania along the Adriatic, where there are eight hundred thousand Mussulman Arnauts—a name corrupted from Albanian—who in stalwart valor and fanatical zeal vie with the early followers of the Prophet. These Arnauts remind us of the Highland clans in the Middle Ages. Kilted mountaineers, like the Highlanders, they are full of passionate tribal loyalty. An apprenticeship of cattle-raiding and brigandage is part of the training of every young man, and they hold intrusive foreigners in utter detestation. For all Slavs, they have a traditional hatred and contempt.

Russia recently decided to plant a consulate in the midst of these Moslem clansmen, choosing Mitrovitza as its site, and sending forward certain lesser employees, who were at first well received by the Turkish officials. Then one of the great Albanian chiefs, Issa Boljetinaz, arrived in the town with a swarm of clansmen, their belts stuck full of pistols and knives. Chief Issa was furious when he heard of the proposed Russian consulate; and, summoning a mass meeting, he denounced the interloping foreigners without mercy. As a result, the consulate advance-guard was turned out of the inn, bidden to quit the town without a moment's delay; and a town-crier announced in Albanian that, if any one harbored the Russians, his throat would be cut and his house burned to the ground.

As a climax and crown to these doings, Chief Issa published abroad that the Russian consul was to be shot, the moment he

appeared at the railway station. No wonder that a writer in Athens a few days later described northern Macedonia in the following terms:

"Official incompetence, negligence, corruption and oppression are doing their worst, and the condition of the subject population is one of indescribable misery. Here the Albanians are supreme, and their arrogance, cruelty and rapacity are daily becoming more intolerable. The Christian peasants are more than ever a prey to their violence and extortions."

Meanwhile, the revolutionists in Macedonia, whether native Bulgarians, or members of the Macedonian Committee from the Principality, were pressing forward the work of insurrection. Towards the end of September, news of outbreaks began to be reported from points scattered throughout the three Macedonian provinces of Kossova, Monastir and Salonika, each with an area of about ten thousand square miles, and a population of a million. At Kastoria, a Turkish police patrol of three men was ambushed and shot by Bulgarians; at Babsof and Vizjana, there were further collisions, in which several of both sides were killed. At Zelinice, two Turks were shot by Bulgarians, and in a neighboring village three Turkish soldiers were killed. Towards the close of the month, Colonel Zontcheff escaped from prison, only to be recaptured on the following day.

Then telegrams began to pour into Constantinople, telling of the appearance of armed bands of Bulgarians everywhere throughout Macedonia. One considerable band, numbering three hundred, was surrounded by Turkish troops in the Salonika district, but succeeded in forcing its way through, with heavy loss to both sides. Three Turkish battalions pursued the survivors. Before the month was ended, every Bulgarian village in the province of Monastir was said to have risen in arms. sanguinary collisions with Turkish troops took place, Turkish and Bulgarian villages were raided; and it is probable that excesses and outrages were committed by both sides in this fierce war of races and religions. The matter was further complicated by the Mussulman Arnauts, who raided not only Macedonia, but the southern borders of Servia also, killing and wounding many frontier guards and peasants. A pitched battle was fought between the Albanian clansmen, under their chief Mustapha Agha, and the Turkish regulars under Schemei Pasha, the Turks shell-

ing the Albanian villages of Kaprin and Babronitch, and reducing them to ashes.

The dominant figure in the insurrection of Macedonian Bulgarians was the former Bulgarian lieutenant-colonel Jankoff, who had at least three thousand men directly under his orders, operating around Kastoria, Vodena, Gievgili and Neglena. Telegraphic and railroad communication was interrupted, the whole country was in a state of siege. At the beginning of October, five hundred Turkish troops were sent to Vodena, and a like number to Mitrovitza, where, it will be remembered, the Arnaut chief had threatened to shoot the Russian consul at sight. Near Vodena, the Macedonian Committee had a force of two hundred men, who compelled or induced the villagers to join them. At this time, the Turks had not less than three hundred battalions divided among the Macedonian garrisons. Colonel Jankoff issued a proclamation in the first week of October, inviting all Bulgarians in Macedonia,—practically the entire population—to take up arms for the liberty of their country. He declared that all other Balkan States had won their freedom by fire and blood, but urged his followers to abstain from injuring non-combatant Mussulmans. Five hundred Bulgarians were thrown into prison in Monastir.

Meanwhile, the Macedonian Committee in Sofia was urging the Bulgarian Government to invite the intervention of the Great Powers in the Macedonian dispute; and it is evident that the whole campaign was organized with this hope, for the Macedonian peasants could not possibly stand unaided against the Turkish armies. But considerations of politics put any such intervention at that time quite out of the question, and the Macedonians were left to fight their battles single-handed.

There were the usual incidents of semi-barbarous warfare. The villagers in the Karajova district, north of Vodena, who had fled to the hills, were invited by the Turkish authorities to send a deputation to arrange for their peaceful return to their homes. Ten were sent, including a priest, a school-master and a doctor, but they were immediately seized, and imprisoned by the Turks. At Constantinople, an *iradé* was issued, branding all fugitives as outlaws, and therefore giving them over to the tender mercies of the Turkish troops. It is said, however, that the Turkish officers showed considerable zeal in suppressing outrage and violence.

In the second week of October, a proclamation was issued at Sofia by Lieutenant-Colonel Nicoleff, president of the revolutionary committee, declaring that a state of insurrection existed in the districts of Djumaia, Melnik, Petritch, Nevrekop, Demirhissar, Poroia, Doiran, Malochevo, Strumnitza, Uskub, and Razlog. On the day following, appeared a proclamation by the militant leader, Colonel Jankoff, declaring that the sanguinary drama had begun, that the whole of Macedonia was ablaze; the duty of all was to rally round the Macedonian flag, to shed their blood for the emancipation of their homes. He called on the Macedonians to remember the Emperor Samuilo, Marko Kraljevics, and the Panslavist heroes, declaring that, from Heaven above, they looked down and blessed the work of liberation. He concluded with the following stirring appeal:

"Brethren, consider the free Balkan peoples that surround us, and you will find that their liberty was purchased at the cost of streams of blood. Let us follow their example; freedom is not bestowed as a gift—it must be won. Macedonians in exile, the hour has come, the battle has begun. Return, therefore, to your homes to take part in the liberation of our serfs. The moment is at hand when you must forget all personal interests and all differences, and hasten to the assistance of your fatherland. Shame upon you, if you turn a deaf ear to the cry for help. Twenty-five years ago, the masters of Europe signed, with the blood of two hundred thousand Russians, Bulgarians, Roumanians, Servians and Montenegrins, the Treaty of Berlin, whereby the autonomy of our country was guaranteed. It also bore the signature of the ruler of the Mussulmans, Sultan Abdul Hamid II., but up to the present day that treaty has not been executed, and tyranny has not ceased to oppress our fatherland. We, who join in the insurrection for human rights and a life worth living, call upon you Christian peoples to force your leaders to support our sacred rights. Know that we will not lay down our arms until we have obtained the privileges which have been promised us, and have secured the freedom of Macedonia."

All this time, the Turks were struggling, not only against the Bulgarian Christians, but also against the Mussulman Albanians. General Schemei Pasha captured the mountain strongholds of a number of Arnaut clans, seizing their cattle in payment of arrears of taxes. Some days later, the redoubtable Issa Boljetinaz was defeated and captured, and at present he is confined in an Asiatic fortress. In spite of his blood-thirsty intention, the Russian consulate at Mitrovitza has been established.

In the second week of October, the Turks attacked a Bulgarian

band numbering two hundred, at Djumaia, killing fifty and capturing thirty-five. Another band of insurgents planned an attack on the railroad from Constantinople through Salonika to Monastir, which crosses the river Struma at Demirhissar. Their intention was to break the line of communication, thus preventing the arrival of Turkish reinforcements. They failed, however; and Generals Talat and Shakir Pasha hurried forward by special trains with a large body of troops. Colonel Zontcheff escaped from prison for the second time within a fortnight, and joined the insurgents in Macedonia. A band of Bulgarians, led by Captain Stoianoff, routed four detachments of Turkish soldiers, numbering two hundred men, near Serbinovo. The villages of Geleznitza and Padege were destroyed; and the insurgents near Djumaia captured three Turkish guns. A band of eight hundred Bulgarians was defeated in the Razlog district, losing a tenth of their number in killed, as well as many wounded. Six hundred women, children and old men crossed the frontier into Bulgarian territory near Dubnitza, to escape the Turkish soldiery. They reported the complete destruction of the Christian villages of Stamer, Drenovo, Serbinovo and Pirin. The village of Oranovo was in flames, and its inhabitants had been massacred. The church at Serbinovo had been desecrated and burned.

All this time, Turkish troops from the Asiatic provinces were being poured into Macedonia through Salonika, and it gradually grew clear that the insurrection would be suppressed by sheer weight of numbers. Snow fell on the mountains in the last week of October, and this was a general signal for a relaxation of hostilities, the key-note of the situation being struck by the "*Novoe Vremya*" in the following sentence:

"The result will probably be that Turkish injustice and severity will heap up material for a fresh conflagration in the spring, when a new revolt will have more chance of success than at the present advanced season of the year."

Having given a pretty complete picture of the events of two or three months ago in Macedonia, of which only occasional and hardly intelligible echoes found their way into the American papers, we shall now inquire into the moral, social and political situation that lies beneath this surging sea of revolutionary chaos, which entails such boundless misery on the Bulgarian popula-

tion of the three Macedonian provinces. For high political reasons, to which we shall return, official Russia was hostile to this Macedonian revolutionary movement throughout; so that we may take it as certain that Russian writers are not likely to exaggerate the miserable anarchy which gives these movements their justification. We may, therefore, accept as thoroughly reliable the following picture of the condition of Uskub, the chief town of the northern Macedonian province of Kossova, which appeared in the *Russian Messenger*, in September:

"Murder is such a common occurrence in Uskub that people have agreed not to speak of it. The normal life of the city could not go on without it. The cynicism and license of the people have gone so far that they commit murder in sight of the consuls, or before their houses; and the consuls can only protest with horror. But under the present régime, these protests are rarely effective; for the most part, no attention is paid to them, and the consuls can only resign themselves, and accustom their nerves to these things, considering them as an unavoidable evil. In Uskub, no one talks about the daily murders. They are somewhat more interested in general cutting affrays and street battles, or in the open insurrections which are periodically renewed at intervals of less than a year."

This is a description of Uskub as it normally is, and was written some little time before the exceptional outbreaks of last autumn. We may judge of the condition of the remaining towns in Macedonia, and of the remote and little known country districts, by what goes on in this important city only a few hours by rail from the frontier of Christian civilization. We may add a few touches of color from a semi-official pamphlet on the Macedonian question, recently published at Sofia. Here is a characteristic incident:

"Last April, a band of Turkish gendarmes, under the command of Captain Malik Effendi, met and arrested a certain Constantine Silyanoff, on his way from Kostintsa. The captain suspected him of being a possible revolutionary, and ordered him to be beaten; then they impaled him with a bayonet, drove nails into his flesh, and burned his body with a red-hot iron, to extort confessions of the doings of the revolutionary committee. Silyanoff died a few hours later."

Here is an incident of a different type:

"In the village of Mustapha, in the province of Adrianople, there is a Turkish garrison, which terrorizes the population by incessant acts of

violence. In April, the soldiers noticed the daughters of the peasant Christak, and attempted to assault them. The neighbors were attracted by their cries, and after a fierce battle succeeded in freeing the unfortunate girls. On the same day, three Bulgarian women returning from market to their village were assaulted by Turkish soldiers. These outrages are of daily occurrence, wherever there are Turkish garrisons."

The Turks are accused of making raids in search of revolutionary propaganda, and, in order to make conviction the more certain, of bringing circumstantial evidence with them, in the shape of inflammatory pamphlets and speeches, which they scatter through the houses of suspects, who are presently tried and condemned to exile in Asian dungeons on the strength of the evidence thus found. The better class of Bulgarians, merchants, priests and school-teachers, are considered most dangerous, as being best fitted to arouse and cherish national feeling; and no expedients are spared to obtain their conviction, on Turkish evidence, before Turkish judges. On such grounds Bachevaroff, a teacher in the Adrianople gymnasium, was imprisoned for three years, and then banished to Asia; in March last, Antoff, a teacher in Prilip, was arrested under like conditions, and has since died in prison; in April, Mikhoff, superintendent of the Bulgarian schools in Veles, was suspected of complicity in the revolutionary movement, arrested, and taken to Uskub for trial. He was tortured, but confessed nothing—as was only natural, seeing that he knew nothing of the proposed outbreaks. The authorities, deeming it inexpedient to liberate him with the marks of torture on his body, decided to make away with him, and he was shot in prison. The matter was brought to light by the efforts of the French consul, who had evidently failed to "accustom his nerves" to the amenities of Turkish rule.

To show the continuity of this state of things, let us add a few incidents chronicled by E. de Laveleye some fifteen or sixteen years ago: in the town of Kratovo, certain Turkish officials went to eat and drink in the house of a well-to-do Bulgarian, then drove away the parents to assault their daughters; in the village of Zeletovo, a Bulgarian's ox entered the yard of a Turk, who in a rage killed the Bulgarian; in the village of Maslonko, Traitchoff, a Bulgarian peasant, and his two daughters were found murdered; in the village of Negilovo, three Bulgarians, Stora-noff, Georgnieff and Istkoff, were taken and killed, their captors

first putting out their eyes, and flaying them. The assassins, though known, were not brought to justice.

It is useless to multiply instances, or to speak of the perpetual brigandage, or the religious persecution of Orthodox Bulgarians by the bishops of the Church of Greece. Mr. Gladstone, writing in 1879, said: "The See of Constantinople, and its followers, little to their credit, ostensibly took the side of the Turks during the late war," and there is evidence that they have been true to their allegiance, thwarting every expression of Bulgarian national feeling by every means in their power, and losing no opportunity to call down the penalties of the Turkish inquisition on the schools, churches, language and aspirations of the Macedonian Bulgarians. If we add this two-fold religious persecution to the conditions of civil anarchy already described, the outbreaks of the autumn, which we have chronicled, and the probable uprisings of the coming spring need no further explanation. With the oppression of Turks, Albanians and Greek ecclesiastics combined, the Bulgarians of Macedonia would be more or less than human, if they did not rebel.

To turn now to the political question: How is it that the Great Powers do not intervene? How is it that Russia in particular, which for generations has done so much for the cause of Orthodox Slav nationality in the Balkans, does not compel Turkey to liberate Macedonia, or at least to make the autonomy promised in 1878 something more of a reality? The answer of history is all-sufficient, so far as Russia is concerned. Russia did in fact intervene, and, in a campaign which made the battles of the Franco-Prussian war seem somewhat theatrical by comparison, at the cost of hundreds of thousands of Russian lives, and at an immense national sacrifice, did free the Slavs of the Balkans from their Turkish oppressors, including the whole of the three provinces of Macedonia, whose condition we have so fully described.

For more than four months,—from March 3rd to July 13th, 1878,—Macedonia was a free province of independent Bulgaria, in virtue of the treaty of San Stefano, dictated by the victorious Russian armies, almost under the walls of Constantinople, after the splendid and dearly bought victories of the Shipka Pass, Lovcha, Plevna, and finally Sheinovo, where the Turks made their last stand under the shadow of the snow-swept Balkans.

Count Ignatieff, the framer of the treaty of San Stefano,

which was signed on March 3rd, 1878, was one of those who took part in the manœuvres in the Balkans two months ago; General Kuropatkin, then Chief of the Staff to Skobelev, and now War Minister of Russia, was another. They could have told, and they did tell, of the efforts and sacrifices made by Russia five-and-twenty years ago, in behalf of the Orthodox Slavs of the Balkans, and most of all on behalf of the Bulgarians, whether of the Principality, of Eastern Rumelia, or of Macedonia. To these Bulgarians, all Russian hearts were especially drawn; for Bulgaria is in a signal sense the sacred land of the Orthodox Slavonic race; the Gospels first came to Russia from the Bulgarian apostles, and ancient Bulgarian is still the liturgical language of the Russian Church. Therefore, the Russian people were unanimous in their desire to see all Bulgaria free from oppression, from the Danube to the *Ægean*; and it was the pressure of the popular will,—as effective in autocratic Russia as in the most democratic of Republics,—and by no means the decision of diplomatists, which drove Russia to declare war against Turkey in the summer of 1877. With the recent pageantry before us, in which many of the great battles of that war were once more fought, we need not recall the steps by which the Russian and allied armies marched to victory; it is enough to say that that victory was complete, and that, by the treaty signed at San Stefano, the Bulgarians, from the Danube to the *Ægean*, were set free.

Many of us can recall the wave of Chauvinism in England and the political intrigues in Austria which made that victory of no avail: the apparition of British war-vessels in the Bosphorus, the massing of Mussulman soldiers from India in the Mediterranean depots of the British army; the secret treaty between England and Turkey, whereby the latter paid for protection by surrendering Cyprus; all this forms a chapter of national history which cannot easily be forgotten. Then followed the understanding between England and Austria, and the Berlin Conference, resulting in the treaty of July 13th, which thrust the Bulgarians of Eastern Rumelia and Macedonia once more under the Turkish yoke.

Speaking of the part Great Britain had played in the Crimean War, Lord Salisbury declared, in his cynical way, that he had come to the conclusion that England "had put her money on the wrong horse." With far greater justice, he might have said the same thing of England's action at the Berlin Conference, in

which he himself played such a conspicuous part. It is true that Eastern Rumelia, with its million Bulgarian inhabitants, escaped from the clutches of Turkey seven years after the Berlin Treaty, and that the signatory Powers agreed to connive at this breach of established conditions. But Macedonia still suffers the measureless misery and debasement of Turkish oppression; and the responsibility for this lies, not with Russia, who once set the Macedonian Bulgarians free, and exalted them into a free nationality, but with the Austrian and English Chauvinists who destroyed that nationality, and gave the Macedonians up to the tender mercies of Abdul Hamid and his chosen instruments.

With Macedonia, Crete and Armenia were substantially liberated by Russia in 1878,—and returned to subjection by Austria and England four months later. There has been international action in regard to Armenia, though without much profit, and the Great Powers have intervened in concert to restore good government in Crete. The work of the Berlin Congress has, therefore, been condemned, in both Crete and Armenia, by the stern logic of events; and in Macedonia its action, as we have seen, was not less fatal and destructive. The time is evidently coming soon when the Great Powers must approach the question of Macedonia, as they have already approached that of Crete.

But pending such action by the Powers, and especially by those whose Chauvinism in 1878 has had such dire results, we cannot logically expect Russia to intervene. Therefore, Russia has discouraged all attempts of the Macedonian Committees, acting with the Bulgarian Government, to draw her into the Macedonian controversy. She has done what lay in her power, acting through her consuls, establishing new consulates, exercising pressure on the Sultan, cultivating the warmest and most friendly relations with both Serbia and Bulgaria. But these are only half-effective palliatives; the real cure lies in the liberation of Macedonia, and the responsibility for that cure lies with the two nations, Austria and England, who thrust once liberated Macedonia back again under the iron heel of the Turks.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.